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For Closer Union.

F. BLAKE CROFTON.

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Prime Minister of Canada.



FOR CLOSER UNION:

SOME SLIGHT OFFERINGS TO A GREAT CAUSE.

BY

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"IF THERE ARE ANY COMMUNITIES OF BRITISH ORIGIN ANYWHERE WHO DESIRE TO ENJOY ALL THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF THE QUEEN'S SUBJECTS, WITHOUT PAYING FOR AND DEFENDING THEM, LET US ASCERTAIN WHO AND WHERE THEY ARE—LET US MEASURE THE PROPORTIONS OF POLITICAL REPUDIATION NOW, IN A TIME OF TRANQUILITY, WHEN WE HAVE LEISURE TO GAUGE THE EXTENT OF THE EVIL AND TO APPLY CORRECTIVES, RATHER THAN WAIT TILL WAR FINDS US UNPREPARED AND LEANING UPON PRESUMPTIONS IN WHICH THERE IS NO REALITY."

HON. JOSEPH HOWE.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE collection of these articles (some of which were unsigned) is due largely to their author's vanity, a vanity shared by not a few who have served, however humbly, in memorable campaigns. At the same time it is hoped that these reprints may feebly aid the efforts of more important writers and speakers who are striving for the same beneficent end, namely the strengthening and staying of our Britannic Empire, "the greatest secular agency for good now known to mankind"

There have lately been many hopeful symptoms that we are nearing the goal. One is the feeling of brotherhood for the starving Hindoos, shown all over the Empire, and nowhere more than in Canada. Another is the preferential treatment offered to the mother-country in the new Canadian tariff. Another was the unbroken and imposing front presented by all the nations owing allegiance to the Queen, when Britain seemed on the verge of wars arising from her championship of South American and South African colonies. In his speech at the Royal Colonial Institute's banquet on the 31st of last March, Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, declared :— "I believe in the practical possibility of the federation of the British race (*loud cheers*), but I know that it will come if it does come—not by pressure, not by anything in the way of dictation by this country, but it will come as the realization of a universal desire, as the expression of the dearest wish of our colonial fellow-subjects themselves." And what is still more significant, if not so seemingly important, the chief organ of the dominant party in Nova Scotia, the *Halifax Morning Chronicle*, which not long ago pooh-pooched imperial federation as a dream and a fad, observed editorially in its issue of April 5th, 1896 : "The whole trend of sentiment, conviction and events is in the direction of the unification of the empire, and the

short-sighted jingo politicians of the United States, apparently without knowing it, by their narrow, unfriendly attitude towards Canada, are actually strengthening the ties which bind us to the mother country, and promoting that unification of the empire which is emerging from the region of dream-land and assuming a form and direction which point to its realization at no distant day." And while I believe this excellent editorial to be entirely sincere, it was published a fortnight before a general election, when its publication would certainly have been postponed, if its sentiments were believed to be at all unpopular.

Mr. Chamberlain is perhaps right in thinking that no "pressure" from the imperial parliament or government would aid or expedite federation, though a friendly invitation to a partnership could hardly be resented and might possibly hasten a decision. But it would prevent some risk of misapprehension if the initiative should come from a self-governing colony. In Canada public sentiment is perhaps already ripe for a proposal; and an over-ripe fruit will decay. And, besides, while we are delaying to propose a scheme of closer union for fear of its being premature, the lack of closer union may destroy the empire. The hour is surely at hand, if it has not already come; but where is the man?

From *The Week* (Toronto), Oct. 23, 1884.

CONFEDERATION OR DISMEMBERMENT (?)

THE conference recently held in London to promote imperial confederation affirmed the desirability of a closer political union of the Empire, prudently leaving the means of attaining that object for future consideration. The great journals of England seem unanimously to have endorsed the views and action of the conference, which have since been advocated on the platform by Lord Rosebery and other prominent speakers. A proposed clause, to the effect that a closer union is essential to prevent total dismemberment, was struck out of the resolutions at the desire, it is said, of a prominent Canadian. If this erased clause conveyed a truth, as I believe it did, it is a truth which should not have been suppressed. An early and constant recognition of it would surely help to bring the present agitation to some practical conclusion. Separation is too serious a crisis to drift upon blindly and phlegmatically.

It is likely that England herself would shake off, sooner or later, colonies which accept the protection of her army, navy, and diplomatic service without contributing one dollar to their support, and which refuse to grant her commercial reciprocity. Some of the North American colonies cut adrift from the Mother Country because she taxed them; possibly the Mother Country may cut adrift from the others because they, indirectly, tax her. But for the larger colonies, whether it involve their independence or honourable union with neighbouring colonies or states, the dismemberment of the Empire seems preferable to their being subordinate dependencies for ever. If grown up sons cannot co-operate serviceably in business with each other and their parents, giving and taking a fair *quid pro quo*, better for them to set up for themselves than keep the family together by continuing in infantile dependence on their father. Such important regions as Australia and Canada should be full members in any imperial or

republican union. They should politely decline back seats without the privilege of speaking.

At present the issues Canadian statesmen have to deal with are too restricted. They have no school for diplomacy, no foreign policy to frame, no navy, and only a Lilliputian army to manage. The qualities needed to conduct these departments languish in this country and may eventually die out from disuse. In his memorable book, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," Professor Drummond gives striking instances of the degeneracy attending the non-exercise of certain faculties in various animals. The hermit-crab, for example, having long ago adopted the cheap expedient of occupying vacant shells, "has ceased to exercise itself upon questions of safety and dwells in its little shell as proudly and securely as if its second-hand house were a fortress erected for its private use.

"Wherein, then, has the hermit suffered for this cheap but real solution of a practical difficulty? Whether its laziness costs it any moral qualms, or whether its cleverness becomes to it a source of congratulation, we do not know; but judged from the appearance the animal makes under the searching eye of the zoologist, its expedient is certainly not one to be commended. To the eye of science its sin is written in the plainest characters on its very organization. It has suffered in its own anatomical structure just by as much as it has borrowed from an external source. Instead of being a perfect crustacean it has allowed certain important parts of its body to deteriorate, and several vital organs are wholly atrophied.

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"As an important item in the day's work, namely, the securing of shelter and safety, was now guaranteed to it, one of the chief inducements to a life of high and vigilant effort was at the same time withdrawn. A number of functions in fact struck work.

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"Every normal crustacean has the abdominal region of the body covered by a thick chitinous shell. In the hermit this is represented only by a thin and delicate membrane---of which the sorry

figure the creature cuts when drawn from its foreign hiding-place is sufficient evidence. Any one who now examines further this half-naked and woe begone object will perceive, also that the fourth and fifth pairs of limbs are either so small and wasted as to be quite useless or altogether rudimentary; and, although certainly the additional development of the extremity of the tail into an organ for holding on to its extemporized retreat may be regarded as a slight compensation, it is clear from the whole structure of the animal that it has allowed itself to undergo severe degeneration."

This analogy was intended by Professor Drummond to explain the decay of the spiritual faculties due to sheltering oneself inertly in dogmas without practising virtues or combating doubts. But we may use it to foreshadow the decline of healthy political activity and the consequent impairment of mental virility, in a country that elects to remain in leading strings. And are not the beginnings of such a decline visible to-day? How petty are our interests, how small most of our public questions, how narrow our sympathies! How much more do Canadians generally speculate upon the prospects of a local election than on the prospects of a great war in which the Empire may be involved, but in the cost of which they have no immediate interest! Can we in this country be expected to feel the same pride as Scotchmen or loyal Irishmen in the exploits of an army or navy which they help to pay for, but we do not. An Englishman feels a sense of ownership, as well as of security, when he sees a British ironclad at anchor in a foreign port; but a Canadian can experience the latter feeling only. A Vermonter can "enthuse" over a diplomatic success achieved by a Marylander, or fume over some foreign outrage to a Californian, with an excitement that no public event outside Provincial or Dominion politics can arouse in the semi-enfranchised Canadian, who has nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with the cost or conduct of the Imperial army, navy, legislature, or diplomatic service. Yet some Canadian statesmen say, Sir Francis Hincks is quoted as saying, that we *don't want* any voice in the distant councils of the Empire. If so, in the name of our self respect, let us form or let us join some sovereign body politic in which we

shall want and shall claim a hearing. For the degeneracy that arises from letting qualities lie fallow is less excusable in a nation than in a hermit-crab. The life of an individual pagurus ends with the individual; the life of a nation continues from one generation to another. Could each particular pagurus reason, it might reason plausibly that, in its "life of nothings nothing worth," it pays to secure its private comfort at the expense of racial degeneration; but law-makers, who profess to legislate for a nation and not for themselves, cannot dare to formulate distinctly any such argument. The probability of increased taxation is the most potent argument against Imperial Confederation, Annexation, and Independence. But it is not a conclusive argument, at all events against the first two of these schemes. A certain increase in taxation might be a cheap price for the increased self-reliance and enterprise and the larger patriotism to be expected from enlarging our public needs and interests, even if the growth of these qualities should not somewhat reduce the cost of administering existing departments of our Government. Canadian patriotism at present displays itself mainly in the merit-barring cry of "Canada for the Canadians," "Manitoba for the Manitobans," "Quebec for the Quebecers," each county for its own people, each town for its own townsmen. A take-all and give-nought disposition is being fostered by our semi-parasitic status. Such a disposition deters immigrants, and in the long run impoverishes a state. Had not the "Know nothing" party been decisively defeated in the Presidential election of 1856, the subsequent immigration would, no doubt, have been smaller and the growth of the country seriously retarded.

To escape political degeneration, (involving to some extent mental, moral, and material degeneration also), we must have co-ordinate, not subordinate, membership in a British Imperial Confederation, or in the United States, or we must have Independence. The fact that the first of these alternatives is at once pronounced impracticable by most of our so-called politicians only shows the cramping and numbing effect of our hermit-crab condition on our mental energies, and our growing inability or reluctance to grapple with large issues. If the greater colonies accept the

principle of a co-ordinate union, in which Canada, Australia, Ireland, Scotland, England, shall be politically the peers of one another, legislating and taxed for imperial objects proportionally to their resources, then the method will be arranged afterwards. The yearning of the dependencies of the Roman Empire was for full *civitas*, the right of voting and holding imperial offices. And the pride of full citizenship in a confederated British Empire would be better grounded than even the pride of full citizenship in the Empire of Rome. Such a confederation could dare any European combination. With the alliance of its sister Anglo-Saxon power, the United States, it could smile at the jealousy of other great nations and their somewhat tardy longings for colonial empire. "Why," we might then complacently ask, with the self-righteousness of our race, "do the heathen so furiously rage together, and why do the people imagine a vain thing! Why do the kings of the earth stand up and the rulers take counsel together to break our bonds asunder? Know they not that we are given the heathen for our inheritance and the utmost parts of the earth for our possession?"

From the *Halifax Herald*, June 22nd, 1887, (Queen's Jubilee Day).

THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF CANADA.

To men better fitted for such calculations I leave the forecast of our commercial and industrial future under the flag of the United Empire or the United States. And material prosperity must be the first and strongest consideration with the majority of the people. A nation will not knowingly follow a path which it feels will lead to want and ruin. We want healthy life first, then that which comforts, adorns, and enobles it. If a decided majority of Canadians are persuaded that their incomes will be doubled by living under a foreign flag, under that flag they will eventually live. Even British jingoism will not seriously attempt to hold this Dominion against the decided wishes of its people.

But if a fair living be secured in either case, a nation, like an individual, may determine its course largely, or even mainly, by

sentimental considerations. Strong ties of love, kinship, gratitude, the call of pride or honor, the certainty of a grander historical record, the prospect of a higher national life, or of a purer or better government, should and would outweigh *slight* mercenary advantages with any enlightened country, doubting with which of two or more great nations she should choose to cast her destiny. What parent, not utterly base, in advising a daughter who has two or more suitors for her hand, would tell her to ignore all considerations except dollars and cents? A prudent father would naturally prefer, other things being equal, the swain who could offer the most comforts and provide most surely for her offspring; but if there were two or more respectable suitors each doing a fair business and having fair prospects, he would not ignore other considerations. He would counsel his daughter to weigh well whom she loved and honoured most, from whom she had received most kindness, who had the most reputable connections, the most honourable record, the finest education, the soundest constitution. Why should one give more sordid counsel to a nation than to an individual? Can a people lay aside moral considerations in shaping its policy and not deteriorate morally? And will not a people's moral deterioration sooner or later react upon its national prosperity?

It may be silly sentimentality to prefer a direct to a collateral heirship in the historic record of Great Britain, or for a liberal to regret losing a single link of connection with an empire that has been the champion and exemplar of freedom in the modern world. Yet a good many fairly decent people are guilty of just such silly sentimentality. And a good many people will also persist in thinking, sneers notwithstanding, that the patriotism which extends to a whole empire has quite as much claim to be reckoned a virtue as the patriotism which is confined to a province or a parish. But some of the advantages we should have in the confederated empire would not be sentimental ones at all. The Stars and Stripes could not command for our traders abroad so much security and respect as the Union Jack. Even if the American navy should at some time equal the British navy, the United States can never have the offensive and defensive power which is

wielded by the British Empire, with its Gibaltars and Adens, its docks and coaling stations all over the world. So many of the most important marts in Europe, Africa and Asia are controlled by Britain that, by a retaliatory tariff over the entire empire, she probably *could* (and possibly *would*, in the interest of the colonies Confederating with her), force the United States or any other power to modify its duties. Imperial federation may thus be the dawn of the era of universal free trade, a vision which, if dim and remote, must yet be attractive to every one who thinks the welfare of mankind at large worthy of some regard. Under imperial confederation, too, home rule would come to Ireland (as it would to Scotland and England) as a part of the general scheme—a consideration which must be of great moment to all the legislatures of Canada which have taken such a remarkable interest in the matter.* Were the empire consolidated, Canadian rights would not be lightly encroached upon by our neighbours. They would then feel that the chance of war ensuing, and that with a still mightier power than England, was not so very slight as at present.

It seems likely that if the idea of imperial federation does not evoke some general enthusiasm in this country soon, it may never do so. Federation leagues have lately been formed, and others are soon to be formed. The celebration of the Jubilee tends to awaken our imperial patriotism and pride. Speakers and writers are everywhere telling the wonderful story of the empire's expansion and progress in the past half century, and poets are hymning its glory and its power. The late ill-judged attempt of agitators to incite demonstrations against the Queen's representative in Canada has further fanned our loyalty to the crown. At the same time the dispute about the fisheries has signally illustrated one of the chief disadvantages of our present status. Canada has been taught that she cannot rely, as surely as Scotland or Wales can, upon the imperial government issuing an ultimatum, if necessary, in defence of her local interests against foreign aggression. As the *Toronto Mail* has pointed out, some British statesmen have

* During the preceding year most of the colonial legislatures had been kindly, if intrusively, volunteering their advice to the British Parliament upon the subject of Home Rule for Ireland.

long ago argued, and some English journals have lately argued anew, that the onus of protecting a colony should not devolve upon Britain unless she obtains some reciprocal favors from it, and that, her commercial interests no longer receiving any consideration from Canadian tariff-makers, this colony gives her no due equivalent. But a fair contribution to her imperial establishments (according to the essential principle of imperial federation) would preclude all grumbling and grudging on the part of British statesmen or British tax-payers, and Canada would be fully and freely backed, in all her just quarrels, by the entire resources of the consolidated empire. Then blustering Yankee demagogues would hesitate to bid for Fenians' or fishermen's votes by insulting Canada or proposing to boycott her commerce. They would be frowned down by the common sense of their sober countrymen. Another encouragement to those who hope to multiply the ties between the colonies and Britain is the recent action of the London Conference, at which all the important Colonial governments were represented, and which has adopted the principle that the colonies should co-operate with the imperial military authorities in providing for their defence, and should share its cost. And some sincere loyalists hold that the admission of this principle, carried effectively into practice, will suffice to secure the lasting cohesion of the empire, and is all that England can expect her great colonies to do. Perhaps it might be, if their population and resources were stationary, and not rapidly expanding.

The fact that Canada has contributed something to the strength of the empire in the Canada Pacific Railway is no obstacle to her admitting the justice of bearing her fair share of the imperial expenses. That contribution would surely be placed to her credit at a fair valuation, and so would her maintenance of the Dominion militia.

Commercial union with the States, with a common tariff against outsiders, is proposed as an alternative to imperial federation, and its financial advantages are argued by many as being likely to exceed any that can fairly be expected from the latter scheme of policy. Some American journals have pronounced against commercial union without annexation, while others favor

it as "the courtship which must precede the marriage." Its pros and cons have been lately discussed by the Toronto board of trade, as well as by newspapers all over the continent; they will be more widely discussed in the near future. It is not, however, with its material advantages or disadvantages, its feasibility or non-feasibility, that this article has to deal, but with its ignoble and anomalous nature. To do our large shipping business abroad under the British flag and under protection of the British consular and naval services, to invoke the aid of the British government, with the British army behind it, when our rights or our citizens are interfered with, and yet to discriminate against British products in favor of a foreign nation, and one which has lately been bullying and sneering at us! To accept free shares in establishments maintained by the taxpayers of one nation and to go to that nation in all our difficulties, and to give all the advantages of our trade to another nation! To belong to one nation fiscally, to another nominally; and to pay nothing to the national establishments of either! What an honorable position we are asked to assume! But this, I have been told, is "a merely sentimental consideration."

The scheme might indeed be purged of much if not all of its meanness, if its advocates would propose to give, out of the overflowing wealth they anticipate from it, a fair contribution to the imperial establishments. But I have not observed that any one of them has made such a proposal. Some of them even argue that if England does not object to our occupying such a parasitic status, neither need we. It is our own self-respect, and not the disapproval of another, that should deter us from meanness. When one has entered a partnership tending to spoil the business of a friend, one should be decent enough to cease accepting favors from him, without waiting for him to grudge or withdraw them.

It is true that commercial union would remove the most probable causes of friction between Britain and the United States, for surely no one could expect the British government to intervene and risk a quarrel if Canada's more powerful partner should ignore her interests in the arrangement of the tariff, or her rights in the division of the customs revenue. And it is probably this

prospect of unbroken friendship between the two great branches of our race (added to the hope of greater commercial prosperity) that has induced Mr. Goldwin Smith and other loyal-hearted men to support the scheme. But continued peace between the great English-speaking powers would be still more secure were Canada annexed to the States. Why then will not those commercial unionists who are really annexationists openly but peacefully agitate for the destiny they prefer? Those Canadians who would gag or imprison them are not in a majority. Those fiery Englishmen who still believe in holding reluctant colonies by force of arms are not numerous. The battle that will determine our destiny will be one of reason, not of battalions, it will be fought, not with cannon, but with pens and tongues; it will be decided by calculations and sentiments and principles. And it would be exceedingly desirable to come to a decision while there are no bitter disputes between the mother country and her great colonies; while we are able to deliberate calmly and to part in peace, if we must part at all.

But some men favor commercial union who fancy it may avert political union with the States, by affording equal advantages. Do not these theorists foresee that, surely as effects follow causes, the empire will sooner or later object to assuming even diminished risks for a parasitic dependency when it discriminates against British in favor of foreign traders? Then will come grumblings and recriminations, and the worst of misfortunes to be feared for our race and nation will ensue—the Dominion and the Empire will part in anger. Canada will then increase, instead of decreasing, the percentage of Americans unfriendly to Great Britain. The grand vision of allied speakers of English dominating the world and dictating peace to the too heavily armed nations will have melted from dimness to invisibility.

Principal Grant has deprecated Canadian independence as “a costly prelude to annexation.” Commercial union (without a fair contribution to the imperial services whose protection we enjoy) seems to me a *cheap* prelude to the same political destiny.

Mark Twain has recorded, to the immortal honor of a western saloon-keeper, that “he never shook his mother,” though he would

doubtless have found it very economical to have done so. Should a nation only consider the economic aspects, and shut its eyes to the moral aspects, of this policy of "shaking its mother?" And when a nation does shake its mother, is it not an extra meanness to go on accepting assistance from her?

Nova Scotia nurtured two great sons who contributed largely to her welfare at home and her honor abroad, Joseph Howe and Thomas Chandler Haliburton. They were not parochial patriots, but each of them looked on matters of state from a height and commanded an extensive view. Before the idea had dawned on common minds, both of them appear to have seen that the future of the empire would be either closer confederation or dismemberment. And both of them pronounced emphatically for the former. Howe's eloquent utterances on the subject have been recently quoted more than once.

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Another eminent Nova Scotian federationist, Rev. Principal Grant, has lately sketched in vivid language the importance of the birth-right which every British emigrant has brought with him to Canada. "Not one jot or tittle of his inheritance was left behind," adds Dr. Grant. "And we have not parted with our birth-right. It belongs to us by a right as absolute, and as crimm as unbroken and flawless, as that by which it is held in Wales and England, in Scotland and Ireland."

I trust that Canada may never become famous, like Esau, for selling her birth-right for a mess of pottage.

From the *Montreal Herald*, July 8th, 1887.

To the Editor of the Herald:

You honored my "Thoughts on the Future of Canada" beyond their deserts by devoting to them your leading article of June 28th. You were, however, under a misapprehension in assuming me to be an apologist of the administration, or a defender of the *status quo*. My article was written in the interests of Imperial Federation only. I hold that the bonds which bind the Empire

together must be strengthened, or else burst under the strain of conflicting interests. I consider that if Canada cannot now rely on the full and ungrudging support of the Empire, this is mainly in consequence of the "National Policy." Our present state seems to me parasitical and dangerous to the permanence of the British connection, though I tried to show that commercial union (as it is generally advocated) is still more so. To commercial union with a fair contribution to the imperial services, I see no objection on the score of loyalty or honor.

Your obedient servant,

F. BLAKE CROFTON.

From *The Week*, June 21st, 1888.

THE COST OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

An opponent of imperial federation assures me that he has merely to point out that the scheme would involve a few dollars extra taxation per family, to turn the average voter decisively against it. This seems tantamount to saying that, from long dependence, parasitism is so ingrained in the character of most Canadians, that Canada will hang on to her leading-strings until they break. In this case, she will also shrink from her two alternative destinies as long as she can, for it would likewise cost money to start national establishments of her own, or to subscribe to those of the United States. She will choose only on compulsion from outside, and then she will choose whichever of the three courses that are open to her may appear the cheapest.

Of course, imperial federation will cost something. It is essentially a project to buy certain things which we now lack for a fair price. Taxation without representation is no more one-sided an arrangement than representation without taxation. We cannot get joint proprietary rights and joint control over the imperial establishments without paying for these privileges. If any silly Canadians favour the scheme because they fancy it will bring them part ownership in the army and navy and consular service by gift or grace, and without any contribution on their part, they had

better "step down and out" of the movement. To secure a co-ordinate status instead of a subordinate one, a full instead of a partial citizenship, we must assume equal burdens and reciprocal obligations with the other federating partners.

A starving, a miserly, or an unreflecting man might prefer that his country should accept gratuitous protection for ever, and shirk for ever the responsibility devolving on adult nations, as on adult individuals, of providing for their own security and defence, rather than contribute a single dollar. But to any high-minded Canadian who is not starving, two or three dollars a year should be a small price to pay to enhance his own self-respect and the reputation of his country, and to secure for himself a part ownership in every imperial service and in every imperial official.

"But this is only a sentiment." Not so, it is a principle. Is it a sentiment only that would make any well-to-do person shrink from adopting the excellent policy, in a mercenary point of view, of accepting a lodging in a home for orphans or decayed gentlemen, and spending on his pleasures the money so economised? Is it only a sentiment that would prevent your suing *in forma pauperis*—ever if you could do so—while you had sufficient means to fee a counsel? No, you are acting on principle: you recognize that that to accept services or favours without reciprocating them is to write yourself down as a dependent, or as an inferior, or as a sponge. And this your self-respect forbids.

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Inasmuch as in the opinion of most thinkers, our present state of tutelage cannot last much longer, Canada *would have to pay much more* towards national defensive and diplomatic services under *either of her only alternative destinies*. If she joins the United States, that compact power, having no military need of the Canadian Pacific Railway, will make her no allowance for it. If she prefers independence, she will have to support military, naval, consular, and diplomatic services of her own; and it is to be observed that she would have not only to contribute to the running expenses of a navy—as under imperial federation—but also to stand the enormous first cost of its construction.

As an additional return for our comparatively trifling contribution, we would gain a very important advantage which we do not now possess ; we would substitute for the protection of England the still more powerful protection of the federated empire, and we could rely upon the latter much more surely than we can now rely upon the former. We could demand the help of the federation as a right, instead of asking it as a favour, in aid of our just contentions ; and our brethren would ungrudgingly grant in *our* time of need, a support which we had pledged ourselves to reciprocate in *theirs*. Knowing this full well, the most blatant demagogues of the United States would no longer dare to make footballs of our rights and interests. But at present, if Canadian interests are neglected or sacrificed by Downing Street, to use the memorable words of Hon. Edward Blake, in his Aurora speech, "that is a state of things of which you may have no right to complain as long as you choose to say, 'We prefer to avoid the cares, the expenses and charges' ; but while you say this, you may not yet assume the lofty air, or speak in the high-pitched tones which belong to a people wholly free."

From *The Week*, July 12th, 1889.

PAYING THE INSURANCE.

In an editorial note upon imperial federation in *The Week*, of June 28, the following sentence occurs : "The only condition which would commend the scheme, on grounds of self-interest, to the British people—viz, that of the colonies undertaking to bear their share of the tremendous cost of imperial armaments and possible wars—is the very condition which the colonies, happily free from the turmoil and danger of European complications, would be most loath to accept." I do not imagine for a moment that so high-minded a journal as *The Week* can favour the idea of Canada's remaining a dependency for ever, shirking in perpetuity the

obligation which devolves on adult nations, as on adult individuals, of bearing the burden of their own defence. I infer, therefore, that you object to the Dominion assuming that obligation by the particular method of becoming a full paying partner in the empire, because she is now "happily free from the turmoil and danger of European complications," in which, you fear, she would then become involved. But this favourite bugbear of anti-federationists seems to me to be quite imaginary. In the first place, suppose England should be drawn into a "European complication," our coasts and our commerce are as much in danger and are less powerfully protected now than they would be under imperial federation. In the second place, as we federationists believe, the chances of our being involved in a "European complication" would be *reduced to a minimum* by the federation of the empire. The Britannic empire would then be an oceanic world-power. Reinforced by the contributions of her new and growing partners, Britain could afford to withdraw wholly from the European system, caring little whether Sultan or Czar reigned at Constantinople, and less whether the balance of power were preserved or disturbed on the Continent. We should simply have to go on strengthening the vulnerable part of the Indian frontier by railroads and fortifications; and we might soon ask the Russians whether they would prefer to have India now or wait till they get it.

But the strongest argument for imperial federation, for Canadians at least, is the present danger of a war with the United States over some of the bones of contention which now exist between us, and which American political leaders persistently decline to have removed. Those who say there is no danger of our quarreling over our disputes seem simply to think that causes cannot produce effects. Another American flag hauled down by the captain of a Canadian cruiser, a man or two killed by a cruiser's gun in a runaway fishing schooner, or the resistance of a sealer to capture in Behring Sea, may lead to a war in which we may lose more cash than would pay our imperial contributions for fifty years, not to speak of the deaths of friends and relatives and possible national humiliation, which are mainly matters of sentiment. If the killing of a bread winner is a material loss to those

dependent on him, it must not be forgotten that these are only women and children, who, having no votes, are unworthy the consideration of practical politicians.

There are other expedients than federation by which we might avert war with the United States. One—annexation—would be a certain success, but it does not seem practicable. Two others—the policy of persistent caving in and “commercial union”—while they are about equally impracticable, would not be so surely efficacious. Early independence would increase our danger and our burdens manifold; and neither Canada nor the empire can prudently wait in its present precarious condition until the former is rich and strong enough for independence. There are at least a few aspirants for ultimate independence who hold that the only practicable way to it is through an intermediate period of imperial federation. But is imperial federation itself practicable? I have no more right to say it *is* than some self-confident gentlemen of the press and some provincial politicians have to say it is *not*, simply because no faultless scheme has occurred spontaneously to their creative brains. But I do believe that if the will becomes general, the way will be found.

And will imperial federation make our American neighbours more disposed to settle the questions in dispute between us? I should certainly fancy so, for it would give them an assurance, which they do *not* generally feel now, that Britain *will* fight for Canadian rights, and not Britain alone, but Britain plus Australia, plus New Zealand, plus South Africa, etc. Politicians will probably find it impossible to make political capital by bullying Canada and worrying Britain, when their constituents clearly see war staring them in the face. For this increased security from war it would be worth paying something. A marine insurance policy does not insure the merchant against all possible loss of his merchandise, yet the prudent shipper insures his goods year after year, nor does he think shipwrecks obsolete because he has never experienced one. The policy of imperial federation, I might say if I were a punster, is an insurance policy.

In *The Week* of June 3rd, Mr. Longley, in an otherwise thoughtful article, actually sets up the established church and

hereditary aristocracy of England as additional scarecrows for Canadians who are inclined to favour federation! Canada of course would be no more bound to adopt the municipal laws and institutions of England than she would be bound to adopt those of New Zealand or South Africa, or any other of the federating partners. Besides, the non-existence of hereditary legislators in the *imperial* legislature would very likely form a precedent fatal to the retention of hereditary legislators in the municipal legislature of England. And the presence in England of representatives from Canada, Australia, etc., and the growing influence of these young communities on English thought, would probably also hasten the impending disestablishment of the Church of England. The federation movement is not intended to place us in leading-strings, but to emancipate us from them. If England could outvote all her new partners in the imperial legislature at the outset, in a few years they could outvote her. And here let me say that it is the conviction of many federationists—a conviction emphatically expressed the other day by the Halifax *Morning Herald*, a journal advocating federation—that should England, from a fear of being outvoted, and of losing her present predominance in the Britannic Empire, decline to make her great colonies co-ordinate partners, the scheme of federation will not be consummated. No inferior status can evoke the necessary enthusiasm in the colonies or satisfy their rising desire for a full national life. If we are to make *our* sacrifices, our friends in England must be prepared to make *theirs*. If we are to rise to the grandeur of the occasion, so must they. If it is to be "Empire First" with us, it must be "Empire First" with them also.

The foregoing article, and three editorial comments of *The Week* upon it, were reprinted in "Imperial Federation," in its next October's issue. One of these editorial comments elicited the following letter:—

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND THE UNITED STATES.

To the Editor of THE WEEK:

SIR,—There is one passage in my letter on "Paying the Insurance" which you seem to have misconstrued, owing doubtless to the fact that my idea was only partially defined. As your misconception attributes to me a sentiment

which, I agree with you, would argue an ignorance of the character of our neighbours to the south, and which might possibly have an irritating and mischievous effect, I hasten to explain my meaning more clearly. Our neighbours, I said, would be more likely to settle the disputes unfortunately existing between us under imperial federation than they are at present, because "it would give them an assurance which they do *not* generally feel now, that Britain *will* fight for Canadian rights, and not Britain alone, but Britain plus Australia, plus New Zealand, plus South Africa," etc. Politicians, I added, "will probably find it impossible to make political capital by bullying Canada and worrying Britain, when their constituents clearly see war staring them in the face." This you fancy is presenting imperial federation as "as a menace to the United States," and you question, like myself, "whether the people of the United States, any more than those of Canada or England, are of a kind to be easily frightened into a more friendly attitude."

If "the people of the United States" were generally averse to settling the matters in dispute between us, then any assurance that the Empire would fight for our contentions, whether this assurance was created by the federation of the Empire or otherwise, would probably precipitate the war, which, in the state of feeling assumed, would be bound to come sooner or later. But the fact is, I believe, that the sensible majority of our republican neighbours would be glad to have our disputes arranged, by arbitration or otherwise, and more neighbourly relations established between us. "Our desire is, however, balked by the action of certain politicians who feel they can profitably truckle to a minority, composed of Yankee jingoes and of Britain-haters. The respectable constituents of these gentry at present view their violent anti-British and anti-Canadian speeches as grotesque, but not as dangerous. "There is no earthly chance of war;" "England will never fight for a few codfish;" "Britain will never risk her vast commerce for a troublesome colony," too many Americans believe. And so they may forbear to extinguish their political firebrands till a stray spark may have kindled a conflagration. But if all parts of our Empire were banded together to defend the just rights of each part, and if all the provinces were ready to give ungrudgingly to any province in her need a aid which she had bound herself to reciprocate in their need, then "the people of the United States," seeing that the antics of their tail-twisters might actually lead to war, would probably suppress these mischievous mountebanks. This, I think, they would do, *not from fear*, but from natural *disinclination* for a war with a kindred and friendly empire; a fratricidal war which would prevent English from becoming the world-language and the English-speaking peoples from controlling the earth in the interests of humanity and peace. It is largely to avert so piteous a strife that I desire to see our Empire federated; and should federation prove impracticable, I am willing to consider without prejudice any other means to effect the same beneficent end.

F. BLAKE CROFTON.

In connection with the above letters, though somewhat out of chronological order, I reprint one of my "Glimpses at Things" (*Week*, Oct. 26th, 1894):—

If somebody possessing tact, energy and leisure would found an English-speaking brotherhood, he would probably take rank among the chief benefactors of mankind. The objects of such a brotherhood should be to draw together in affection and esteem the British Empire and the United States, to urge the settling of all disputes speedily, and in a fair spirit of mutual compromise, to

vote against demagogues who try to gain power or place by stirring up hatred or jealousy between the Republic or Empire. It should strive to render Britons and Americans proud instead of envious of each other's progress and achievements, and to incline either nation to shape its policy rather to help than to injure its fellow nation. The English-speaking brotherhood should not be animated by any spirit of jingoism or aggressiveness. But it should feel that the benevolent dominance of the kindred English-speaking powers is the chief earthly hope of humanity, that their growing preponderance will soon enable them to "dictate peace to the too heavily armed nations," and that an awful responsibility will rest on him who breaks asunder the bonds by which Providence has joined them, and who shatters by fratricidal war the strength assigned them for some great and benign purpose.

From the *Halifax Herald*,* Sept. 17th, 1890.

A MORAL OF THE CRISIS.

F. BLAKE CROFTON IN TORONTO "WEEK."

Some of us imperial federationists have been for many years convinced that—besides a fuller national life and a widening of national thought, besides a reciprocity of rights and obligations, besides the status of a peer instead of a subordinate—Canada would gain, by federating with the Empire, the very material advantage of increased security. In other words we felt that to federate would be to issue a salutary notice to the nations of the earth that the states and provinces owing allegiance to the British crown had gone into partnership to defend, at their joint expense and by their joint power, the just rights of each partner from foreign aggression. It would be a general notice that all the federated members of the Empire would ungrudgingly give to

* This journal helped the infant cause much in the Maritime Provinces, not only by copying many articles on the subject, but also by its editorial endorsements of federation at a time when it was generally deemed to lie outside the boundaries of prudent or practical politics. The then associate-editor, Mr. C. H. Cahan, was secretary of the Nova Scotia branch of the Imperial Federation League, but soon after its formation he was appointed leader of the Provincial opposition, which appointment ended or, I would fain hope, suspended his outward enthusiasm. The editor and proprietor of the *Herald*, Mr. J. J. Stewart, has consistently decried "continentalism" and proclaimed the superior grandeur and civilization of our world-empire.

each member in its need an aid which it was pledged to reciprocate in their need. It would be a special notice to our neighbors that Canada was no longer a subordinate province, but a state of the Empire, co-ordinate with England, Ireland or Scotland; one of the directing partners, contributing and voting; not a "dependency," a "mere colony," one of the "Possessions Anglaises," as it is classed by the postal department of France. It would be a warning to certain blatant haters of Britain that in future, if needs be, their *octopus* would fight with all its tentacles as well as with its jaws.

In an article by the present writer entitled "Paying the Insurance," which appeared over a year ago in *The Week*, the following paragraph occurred:—"And will Imperial Federation make our American neighbors more disposed to settle the questions in dispute between us? I should certainly fancy so, for it would give them an assurance *which they do not generally feel now* that Britain *will* fight for Canadian rights. * * *"

Does not the lately published diplomatic correspondence* amply prove that Mr. Blaine calculated upon bluffing England, and that, if he has brought his country into the unpleasant predicament of having either to fight in an unjust cause or to back down, this was owing to his false confidence that Britain would never imperil her vast commerce for an unrepresented and uncontributing province? More than once he betrays his surprise and indignation at England's risking his displeasure in defence of the rights and in deference to the arguments of a "dependency," a "mere colony." He frets at "the interposition of the wishes of the British province against the conclusion of a convention between two nations." He feels that "Lord Salisbury would have dealt more frankly," and saved him from sad embarrassment and the countries from the risk of a fratricidal war, "if he had informed Minister Phelps that no arrangement could be made unless Canada concurred in it."

There is reason to hope that in the present dispute the good heart and sound sense of the American people may constrain their

* *Re the Behring Sea dispute.*

politicians to submit to arbitration or to abandon their preposterous claim. But would it not be wise to avert, if possible, a recurrence of the dangerous misapprehension that Canada can be bullied with impunity? Or is the false and mean argument to revail that, as Britain in this instance acted effectively if slowly for us, without our paying anything towards her imperial establishments, we would, therefore, be foolish to assume such unnecessary (?) burdens for merely sentimental reasons (?) in the future?

The two following paragraphs are notes by the editor of *Imperial Federation* (the London organ of the League) in its issue of June, 1888:—

Mr. F. B. Crofton, the librarian of the Nova Scotian Legislature, writes to us in reference to our notice of his lecture. "My paper," he says, "was on 'Haliburton, Thinker and Writer' generally, not on him as an imperial federationist alone; and I did not claim (though the reporter says I did) the paternity of the idea for Judge Haliburton. I only showed that he had advocated it strongly long before it had been brought into its present prominence. The idea, I believe, can be traced further back still." We trust that, if not Mr. Crofton himself, then some other member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, will endeavor to trace the *genesis* of the idea. It behoves imperial federationists to look forward with confident expectation to the time when its first advocate will rank with the great pioneers of humanity, with Columbus or the Marquis of Worcester, who, like Moses, saw the vision of the promised land, though it was not given to them to enter therein.

Our friends in Halifax do not, however, confine themselves entirely to the historical interest of imperial federation. If not fully prepared to let the dead past bury its dead, they are at least ready to act in the living present. We have seldom seen the case for federation, from the colonial point of view, better put than in a recent letter addressed to the *Daily Echo*. "Federationists," says the writer, "hold that the responsibilities of the various parts of the Empire to each other should be *reciprocal*. Most Canadian federationists feel that this Dominion is not now an infant plantation; that, to be entitled to the full rights of an adult nation, it should assume the duties and responsibilities of one; that the time is at hand when it must no longer be a 'dependency,' but a co-ordinate and equal partner, if it is to continue in the Empire at all; that at present it perhaps does not deserve, and certainly does not get, the protection and backing of the Empire as fully as the three paying partners; and that, to pass from this humiliating and parasitical state, only three courses are open to it—to support diplomatic, naval and military services of its own, or to subscribe to those of the United States, or to those of the British Empire. And weighing the probable cost and worth of each, they believe that the last course is the best."

The letter alluded to in the latter paragraph was contributed by me, pseudonymously, to the Echo. The suggestion made in the former editorial note was partly carried out in the following letter, printed in the February issue, 1889 : [F. B. C.]

GENESIS OF THE FEDERATION IDEA.

To the Editor of "Imperial Federation":

SIR,—In a local notice of a paper read by me before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, on "Judge Haliburton," I was incorrectly reported as claiming for that staunch and far-sighted imperialist the paternity of the idea of imperial federation. In your issue of last June, in an editorial note on my correction of this inaccuracy (which you had reprinted in a previous issue), you expressed a hope that I, or somebody else, would "endeavor to trace the *genesis* of the idea," and you aptly observed that it behoved federationists "to look forward with confident expectation to the time when its first advocate will rank with the great pioneers of humanity."

Now, sir, I do not claim to have discovered the originator of the federation idea ; but I think its fatherhood may be attributed, somewhat more plausibly than Shakespeare's plays, to no less a personage than Lord Bacon. At all events, Bacon clearly held, as many imperial federationists hold to-day, that any empire so vast as ours must either be confederated or partially dismembered.

In his letter to King James, "On the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Great Britain," he maintains this proposition :—
"That then (*and then only, as he has just argued*) greatness of territory addeth strength, when it hath these four conditions :—

"First, that the territories be compacted, and not dispersed.

"Secondly, that the region which is the heart and seat of the State be sufficient to support those parts which are but provinces and additions.

"Thirdly, that the arms or martial virtue of the State be in some degree answerable to the greatness of dominion.

"And lastly, that no part or Province of the State be utterly unprofitable, but do confer some use or service to the State."

His first condition (compactness), we may assume, would not have seemed so essential to him if the steam-engine and electric telegraph had existed, or, at all events, if they had attained their present development.

His second condition he explains thus:—"For the second, concerning the principal region and those which are but secondary, there must evermore distinction be made between the *body* or *stem* of the tree, and the *boughs* and *branches*. For if the top be over great and the stalk too slender, there can be no strength. Now, the body is to be accounted so much of an estate as is not separate or distinguished with any mark of foreigners, but is united specially by the bond of naturalisation. (Italics mine.) And, therefore, we see that when the State of Rome grew great, they were enforced to naturalise the Latins or Italians, because the Roman *stem* could not bear the Provinces and Italy both as *branches*."

But why should not our Empire stand among the empires of the world, as the banyan among the other trees, begetting many secondary stems which maintain their connection with the parent trunk? And why should not our Empire, so knit together, outlast other empires as the banyan outlasts other trees?

In commenting on his third condition, Lord Bacon supplies another argument against our *status quo* when he notes of the Romans—"Their protecting forces did corrupt, supplant, and enervate the natural and proper forces of all the provinces, which relied and depended upon the succours and directions of the State above. And when that also waxed impotent and slothful, then the whole state laboured with her own magnitude, and in the end fell with her own weight." This inevitable moral degeneracy of provinces shirking their natural obligations to bear a part in their defence is analogous to the physical degeneration of the hermit crab, so strikingly depicted in Professor Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World."

* * * * *

But if our cardinal principle, the need of reciprocity of obligations and services between the provinces and the Empire, occurred nearly three centuries back to the prescient mind of Bacon, it recurred more vividly and more often to Haliburton quite half a century ago. And perhaps the first person who can be said actually to have formulated a scheme for the federation of the Empire was another far-sighted Nova Scotian, Hon. Joseph Howe. In his pamphlet, entitled "The Organization of the Empire" (Edward Stanford, London, 1866), Mr. Howe proposes methods for representing the colonies in the imperial parliament, for raising and assessing the contributions of the provinces to the imperial services, for affiliating the provincial militia with the regular army, &c. The following utterance of this high-minded Nova Scotian should cheer the federationists and shame the sponges and "stick-in-the-muds" in all the colonies :—

"But I will not for a moment do my fellow-colonists the injustice to suspect that they will decline a fair compromise of a question which involves at once their own protection and the consolidation and security of the Empire. At all events, if there are any communities of British origin anywhere who desire to enjoy all the privileges and immunities of the Queen's subjects without paying for and defending them, let us ascertain where and who they are—let us measure the proportions of political repudiation now, in a season of tranquility—when we have leisure to gauge the extent of the evil and to apply correctives, rather than wait till war finds us unprepared and leaning upon presumptions in which there is no reality."

I am, sir, yours, &c.,

F. BLAKE CROFTON, (*Halifax, Nova Scotia*).

A fuller article of mine on the same theme, which soon afterwards appeared in *The Week* (April 5th, 1889), contained, in addition to the substance of the letter printed above, the following paragraphs also :—

THE FATHERHOOD OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.*

Eleven years before the American Revolution, in 1765, at a time, be it observed, when the colonies bore something like the

* A much more copious essay on this subject has since been read by the late Mr. P. F. de Labilliere before the Royal Colonial Institute (Jan. 10, 1893), under the title of "British Federation: its Rise and Progress." But his essay, too, is very far from exhaustive, omitting the names of several North American

same ratio to the Three Kingdoms in wealth and importance which they do at present, Thomas Pownall, formerly Governor of Massachusetts Bay and South Carolina, and Lieutenant-Governor of New Jersey, published in London the second edition of his *Administration of the Colonies*. In this work (pp. 110) he uses these remarkable words :—

“ It is, therefore, the duty of those who govern us to carry forward this lead into our system, that Great Britain may be no more considered as the kingdom of this isle only, with many appendages of provinces, colonies, settlements, and other extraneous parts, but a grand marine dominion, consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic and in America united into a one empire, in a one centre, where the seat of government is.”

To effect this he claims “ is the *precise duty* of government at this crisis.”

To the British objection to give “ the rights and privileges of subjects living within the realm ” to persons remote from it, whose interests are rival and contrary, Pownall answers: “ But the scheme of giving representatives to the colonies annexes them to and incorporates them with the realm. Their interest is contrary to that of Great Britain only so long as they are continued in the *unnatural artificial* state of being considered as external provinces ; and they can become rivals only by continuing to increase in their separate state ; but their being united to the realm is the very remedy proposed.”

The American objection that this union would involve a share in the burden of the taxes, he meets by saying that “ the like objection can never be made with propriety, reason or justice by colonies and provinces which are *constituent* parts of a trading nation protected by the British marine. . . . However, if the colonies could . . . show any inequality or even inexpediency in their paying any part of the taxes, which have a retrospect to times before they were admitted to a share in the legislature,

pioneers—among them Chisholme, Halliburton, and, strangest of all, Governor Pownall. The history of British federation will doubtless follow its consummation ; but meantime the journalist may smooth the way for the essayist, and the essayist for the historian.

there is no doubt but that the same moderation and justice which the kingdom of England showed towards Scotland in giving it an equivalent would be extended to the colonies by the kingdom of Great Britain."

Pownall further argued that the distance of the colonies from England, *even then*, was not an insuperable obstacle.

In this he differed from Burke, who, some years later, declared that "nature forbade" the union; but Burke lived before science had vanquished nature, or steam and electricity had annihilated space. Americans "might flatter themselves, with some appearance of reason, too," said Adam Smith, "that the distance of America from the seat of government could not be of very long continuance. . . . In the course of a little more than a century perhaps the produce of America might exceed that of the British taxation. The seat of empire would then naturally remove itself to that part of the empire which contributed most to the general defence and support of the whole." This was during the revolt of the colonies; and the great political economist proposed that *representation with taxation* should be offered to each colony detaching itself from the confederacy. "The assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the empire," he said, "in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have representatives from every part of it."

Perhaps the credit of publicly advocating the federation of the empire for the first time in British America is due to David Chisholme, a journalist of Lower Canada, who, in 1832, published at Three Rivers a book entitled *Observations on the Rights of British Colonies to Representation in the British Parliament*. I must content myself with two extracts from this most creditable contribution to Canadian literature:—

"We have been brought up at the knees of that most patriarchal power: we have largely partaken of its bounty, and are, I hope, grateful for it; we have rejoiced in its strength, participated in its glory, and been proud of its dignity. Yet perpetual pupillage, enduring servitude, are alike unworthy of child and parent, of minor and guardian. It would forever stint the moral

and intellectual growth of the one, and degrade the other, in the estimation of all reflecting men, as a proud and haughty tyrant, both unwilling to allow others to participate in his privileges, and incapable of entertaining one generous sentiment. Nor, indeed, is our ambition very great. The boon which we seek is not entire emancipation. It is not uncontrolled liberty to do for ourselves as we best can, like other members of the family who have gone out from us to return no more. It is not the wild freedom of the reckless and abandoned profligate. We do not, like the prodigal, ask the portion of goods that falleth to us, with the view of taking our journey into a far country, and there wasting our substance with riotous living. Our desire, on the contrary, is only to continue members of the happy family in which we have been born and brought up; to draw both the paternal and fraternal bonds tighter around us; and to strengthen the chains of the family communion.

"But we desire at the same time to enjoy equal rights and equal privileges. We desire to be put on the same footing with the other members of the family. Being persons of some little means, we desire, because we think it is our right, to have some voice in the management of it. Being joint-heirs of the inheritance of our forefathers, we desire to be consulted in its management. Being heirs-at-law to the patrimony of the British Constitution, we desire to participate in the benefits arising from it. Being of age and of sound mind and judgment, we desire to be acknowledged as men capable of filling our station at the council board, particularly when our immediate goods and chattels are to be disposed of. Being now of mature age, we desire that our leading-strings may be cut away from us, and that we may be permitted to pursue the course which right and nature alike dictate. We desire that the emblems of manhood, the *toga virilis* may be delivered to us."

"The children of the same national family," says Mr. Chisholme in another part of his book, "the subjects of the same Crown—the heirs of the same constitution—the objects of the equal protection of our laws—the inheritors of British freedom—and the undistinguished claimants of British justice—stretch to us,

ere it be too late, the right hand of fellowship ; introduce us into your councils ; admit us into your confidence, especially when all we possess on earth is endangered, and all will yet be well. We shall then indeed be one people with common rights, common privileges, common laws, and common interests. 'Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee ; for whither thou goest, I will go ; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge ; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God !' "

Of the following two articles I cannot name the precise dates. They are copied from the supplement to "Imperial Federation" for April, 1889, but their first appearance was probably some months earlier. They were both used as editorials.

"PUT UP OR SHUT UP."

From the *Halifax Critic*;

If our present deplorable relations with the United States do not lead to earnest efforts for imperial federation, there will be small hopes for the final success of the scheme. For we never can have a stronger illustration of the dangers of our existing status than we now have. If we were equal and paying partners in the Empire it is unlikely that the present crisis would exist at all, or that demagogues in the Senate or elsewhere would have been so prompt to refuse arbitration, to repudiate conventions, or to fish for the votes of rowdies by rowdy abuse of Britain or Canada. We know, from various utterances, that at present many Americans assume that England will never take arms in our behalf. Only the other day a Republican organ observed that "the new democracy of England would never fight with us about the Canadians." Even in Canada many people feel that Britain will not put her foot down so firmly or so readily in defence of Canadian interests as in defence of Scotch or Irish or English interests. "To the proposition that England would run any hazard in order to sustain

our case," says the *Toronto Mail* recently, "it is probably a sufficient answer to say that we do not contribute to her treasury ; that we do not allow her a voice in our internal affairs ; that we do not even recognise her kinship in matters of trade, but treat her precisely as we treat the foreigner."

But if a serious crisis *should* occur under imperial federation, our neighbours would be much more anxious to arrange the difficulty than they are now. They would know that no provinces of the Empire would grudge to Canada in her need a support which she was pledged to reciprocate in theirs. There would be no question then that Canada would be backed in all her just contentions—backed more promptly, more fully, and more powerfully, than she is in her present condition as a "dependency." The strong arm of the Empire would be nerved by an awakened spirit of imperial patriotism.

If the lovers of leading-strings really form a majority in Canada, they might succeed in prolonging her inglorious tutelage for ever but for three dangers. The first danger, of course, is forcible annexation—a possible consequence of a war with the United States.

The second danger is that Britain may sooner or later deliberately decline to go on shouldering unreciprocated responsibilities.

The third danger is that the carping abuse of Britain by certain papers in the colonies, whenever she makes a compromise or fails to jump instantly at the throat of any foreign power in defense of any disputed colonial right, may at last provoke unpleasant reprisals. Suppose that some day, after an unusually shrill chorus of barks from a certain class of Canadian journals, some of the great British papers should retort in effect : "Gentlemen, if you don't like the way we protect you, you are quite welcome to protect yourselves, or to get some other protector, if you can find one cheap enough to suit your ideas. But before you either criticise our military, naval, and diplomatic services, or prescribe how or when we are to employ them, would it not be more graceful and more manly to contribute something to their support? To use the forcible language of your Republican

neighbours, perhaps, gentlemen, you will kindly 'PUT UP OR SHUT UP!'" Should any considerable portion of the British press be teased into adopting such a tone, more bitter words will follow on both sides, and we shall meet a fate which all true friends of Britain and Canada dread far worse than friendly annexation or independence—we shall part in anger.

Strange to say, those who snarl and nag most at the mother country for hesitating to risk her vast commerce in defence of every local claim, are generally persons who sneer at the notion of contributing a cent to the imperial establishments. It is a melancholy truth that sponges commonly are both thankless and exacting.

WHAT IS IMPERIAL FEDERATION?*

From the Halifax Evening Mail.

It is true there is a great deal that is vague and undetermined as to the scope, the constitution, and the consequence of imperial federation. The limits of the jurisdiction of imperial and local legislatures are not settled as yet; neither is the mode of contributing the proportionate contribution; neither is the extent of the imperial liabilities of the partners; neither is the method of electing imperial representatives. It is not determined whether a measure of commercial reciprocity between all parts of the Empire will precede or follow imperial federation.

But there are some things that are pretty clear and easy to understand in connection with imperial federation. It means a pooling of the offensive and defensive resources of the Empire, the gaining of strength by cohesion, the binding of the bundle of sticks by firm cords, the hooping of the staves of the barrel, of which operations Judge Haliburton and Joseph Howe long ago clearly foresaw the

*The greater part of this article was quoted approvingly by Lord Brassey in *The Nineteenth Century* for September, 1891.

need. It involves the representation of the self-governing colonies in some imperial legislative body, and their participation in the imperial government and imperial expenses. It means paying our shot and shouldering our reciprocal responsibilities like Britons. The consummation of the scheme will make us part owners in every imperial establishment in every part of the world—peers with our fellow-Britons instead of colonists or dependents. It is like going into partnership with one's mother instead of staying tied to her apron-strings. Federation would force the thoughts of our public men to expand. It would oblige our voters to consider their imperial as well as their provincial interests. It would breed statesmen instead of "parochial politicians." It would not be as costly as independence, and certainly not more costly than union with the United States.

It is the only practicable alternative to annexation. Senator Sherman is only one of many who believe that, before very long, "Canada will be represented either at Westminster or at Washington." Rev. Joseph Cook, as he travelled over the British Empire and realized its vastness, exclaimed to himself, "Confederation or disintegration!" Haliburton came to the same conclusion half a century ago. At the first meeting of the Federation League in London the same sentiment would have been embodied in a resolution, but for the remonstrances of a prominent Canadian. * * * Mr. Dalton McCarthy, President of the League in Canada, in his lately published letter, hints that subsequent events tend to prove the sentiment true. Our recent troubles with the United States certainly argue that we cannot prudently wait as we are till we are rich enough and populous enough for independence.

* * * * *

From the Halifax Critic, May 23, 1885.*

Mme. de Stael, as Principal Grant remarked, wanted Goethe to explain his philosophy in a couple of sentences. And there are some provincial writers who are inclined to settle the affairs of the universe in an editorial. One of these sages has disposed of imperial federation as "idiotic." Were I to imitate this flippancy, I should speak of those Canadians who favor the present colonial status as the mean school of politicians; of those who prefer independence, as the bumptious school; of those who lean towards annexation, as the discreet or frugal school; of those who hope for imperial federation, as the patriotic school. Patriotism means, etymologically, a love for the *country of our fathers*.

From The Critic, Aug. 24, 1888

The British Empire and the United States comprise almost a quarter of the land area of the earth, more than a quarter of its population, and more than half of its wealth, power and civilization. No other great power is growing so fast as either of them. Allied, they might "dominate the world and dictate peace to the too heavily armed nations." The Britisher or Yankee who cannot recognize the grand position of his race, and its limitless possibilities and responsibilities, is a dolt. The Britisher or Yankee who does recognize these things, and yet, for fancied party advantage, stirs up ill-feeling between the two great kindred powers, is an enemy of mankind. In risking a fratricidal war between them, he risks the loss of their controlling influence in the world—and this for a small and uncertain gain. Like Judas, such a man would betray his master for a moderate consideration, but I don't think he would have Judas's scruples about pocketing the boodle.

* Some of my notes and articles in *The Critic* on behalf of Imperial unification were anonymous, some signed with a pseudonym, and some with my own name. I have not attempted to find them all, for they appeared off and on for several years, and are usually short, while *The Critic* is without an index.

From *The Critic*, Aug. 31, 1888.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND THE FRENCH CANADIANS.

Several French-Canadian politicians of both parties have lately declared against imperial federation. "The French Canadians," says Professor Goldwin Smith in *Macmillan's Magazine*, "are bent on the consolidation of their own nationality, and are radically hostile to imperial federation or anything that would tighten their tie to Great Britain. It is surprising to me that anyone with this patent fact before his eyes can talk about imperial federation with reference to Canada." If French Canadians could make the present position of Canada last for ever, or if they could replace it by Independence, it might indeed be vain to "talk about imperial federation with reference to Canada."

French Canadians could not feel the *national* pride and complacency that Anglo-Saxons would feel either in a federated and fortified British Empire or in a great American republic. Their yearnings for a national life, their ambitions as a race, could best be satisfied by making this Dominion independent. In it they have fair hopes of dominating, through their wonderful fecundity, and by fostering immigration from France. Most of them would probably be willing to bear their shares of the enormous outlay that would be needed for building and keeping up a navy, for increasing the militia, and for maintaining consular and diplomatic services.

But the chances are that few *British* Canadians will finally prefer the most costly and precarious of the conditions open for their choice. On mature reflection most of them will see that the status of full partners with one of the great English-speaking powers would be not only cheaper, but also more secure and more respected and envied in the world at large. British Canadians could fuse with either, and rejoice, not with reserve as aliens, but thoroughly as brethren, in its augmented strength.

Once convinced that *Annexation is the only practicable alternative to imperial federation*, there is every reason to hope that the

vast bulk of French Canadians will prefer the latter. At Washington the public documents would not be published in French as well as English, as they are at Ottawa, and deputies could not speak in either language at their option in Congress as they can in the Dominion Parliament. French Canadians could not make the successful forays on the American that they now do on the Canadian treasury ; in American politics they could never hold the balance of power which they already hold, or win the preponderance which they already hope for, in Canadian politics. Under annexation some of their rights might be jeopardized, under imperial federation they will all be guaranteed : the constitution of the League, which every imperial federationist signs, provides that "no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs." "Nous n'avons rien à craindre de la métropole," said *La Minerve* not long ago. "Nous n'avons pas à redouter l'absorption ni l'écrasement de sa part ; * * ses relations avec nous ne peuvent guère exercer d'influence mauvaise sur ce que nous tenons par dessus tout à conserver, sur l'héritage national qui nous est cher, et pour lequel la fusion Américaine signifierait la ruine." ("We have nothing to fear from the imperial government. We have neither to apprehend absorption nor effacement on its part ; * * its relations with us could hardly exercise an evil influence upon that which we hold it paramount to preserve, upon the national heritage which is dear to us, and for which fusion with America would mean ruin.")

And there is little doubt that the Catholic hierarchy of Quebec would favor imperial federation as against annexation. "Between a close union with the United States and a closer union with England," says *La Minerve*, commenting on the notable speech of our Archbishop, "Mgr. O'Brien would rather lean to the latter. And we believe that this sentiment would be that of the episcopate in general. Every time that the country has found itself obliged to make a similar choice (*s'est trouvé dans cette alternative*), we have seen the bishops reject friendship and close fellowship with America. This is what they did in 1775, and

what they did again in 1867 when they recommended Confederation as a safeguard against annexation. We must believe that they are convinced, in their care and foresight as pastors, that the danger for us, for our religious and national interests, is not from the side of England but from the side of the United States."

From the *Halifax Herald*, Sept. 21 1888.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND HOME RULE.

(From the *Critic*.)

Mr. Parnell's letter to Mr. C. J. Rhodes, in which he favors the retention of Irish representatives at Westminster and imperial federation also, (if the colonies desire it), is an event of the very highest importance. Its immediate and significant result was a gift by Mr. Rhodes of \$50,000 to the funds of the Irish party.

It was not to be expected that ultra Tories would be instantaneously converted to Home Rule even though accompanied by imperial federation. Yet it is with some surprise and regret that I find the official organ of the Federation League pooh-poohing the importance of Mr. Parnell's utterances and denying that its columns have anything to do with Home Rule. Surely a scheme which involves the delegating of all imperial affairs to an imperial parliament or council (in which all contributing partners will have representatives) involves also the delegating of all local affairs to local parliaments. What the precise limits should be of the jurisdiction of imperial and local parliaments it would be for statesmen and conventions to define; but I should think that the legislature of Ireland or Scotland should have equal rights and powers with the legislature of Canada.

Why any one should fear separation or rebellion if Irish Home Rule should come thus, as a corollary to imperial federation, puzzles me. The followers of Mr. Parnell have long ago thrown the dynamiters overboard. Like Archbishop O'Brien, they

recognize that the means used for a worthy end must be "within the Ten Commandments." It is said that they have lately even declined the co-operation of the Fenians. Mr. Parnell has admitted that effective safeguards of union should be provided in every scheme of Home Rule. But under imperial federation few safeguards would be needed. There would then be no danger of the disunionists gaining the ascendancy in Ireland. If they ever did, they would find rebellion vain. They would have to deal with Britain reinforced by her new partners, then fired with imperial pride and patriotism, and ever growing in numbers and resources. Ungrateful and irreconcilable, rebels would then find no sympathy from outside nations. No politicians in the colonies, few politicians in the United States, could fancy it expedient to affect sympathy with their cause. If they did, they would lose more votes than they would gain.

I sympathize with the present efforts of Mr. Parnell to wash from his garment the slime of the vipers that clung to its skirts. Many men are now quietly rallying to the cause of Home Rule who, like Mr. Rhodes himself, declined to work for it in seeming concert with vandals and murderers. An Irish rector of an English parish, not long ago a pronounced "unionist," wrote me lately that he is a "Gladstonian home-ruler." An imperialist myself, I now am for Home Rule in the interests of imperial union. An Irishman myself, I am for imperial union in the interests of Ireland. The cohesion and strength of the federated empire would be weakened and its glory would be dimmed, if it were not sustained by *all* the gallantry and *all* the genius of my native land.

The empire for Ireland and Ireland for the empire, and a brotherly alliance with the United States—here is a cause that is worth working for or suffering for, if it only can be crowned with success. We could then induce the overburdened nations to disarm, by guaranteeing their integrity. We could reduce the total labor of mankind. We could end the slave trade. There would be "peace on earth, goodwill toward men," and no more "Irish vote" to be angled for with unclean bait. Ireland would be one of an imperial brotherhood of nations, and the august history of the

federation would be illuminated by the talent, dash and imagination of her sons.

In "The Critic" for October 12 and 19, 1888, I printed a full resumé of Hon. Joseph Howe's very interesting and advanced scheme for strengthening the empire. This scheme was proposed in 1866, in a pamphlet published by Ed. Stanford (London), and entitled "The Organization of the Empire." The far-sighted and broad-minded Nova Scotian statesman clearly showed the dangers of our present status and boldly outlined a scheme for general defence and colonial representation—even advising the imperial government to ask the colonies for an early answer to an offer of reciprocal rights and responsibilities.

In the early part of December, 1888, the future of Canada was discussed in the Halifax "*Morning Chronicle*" by Hon. J. W. Longley, Senator Power, and B. Russell, now M. P. for Halifax. The shortest and least important contribution to this discussion was my letter, which contained the following paragraphs:—

From the *Morning Chronicle*, Dec. 7, 1888.

* * * * *

I am an imperial federationist, but I am in accord with the policy outlined in the *Chronicle's* editorial—against national extravagance and the corruption of constituencies, for free trade and the largest amount of reciprocity with the United States which can be obtained without a sacrifice of principle or self-respect. Should either political party positively pronounce against the strengthening of the empire (so long as the empire remains fair and friendly to Canada) that party will lose many adherents whose loyalty to the empire is stronger than their party feelings. Whether it would gain enough votes to offset those lost by such a policy can only be a matter of speculation at present.

Meantime, I feel with the Attorney-General that it is both legitimate and desirable to debate thoroughly the *pros* and *cons* of all the political conditions into one of which we must pass when our tutelage is at an end. His views on this point are certainly broad and liberal. While I recognise the ability and moderation of Senator Power's letter, I regret that he sees fit to deprecate such discussions as "something worse than useless," because he thinks they have a tendency to unsettle men's minds and to call their attention away from subjects of vital and immediate consequence. The question whether this country is to secure fair treatment and fair trade with our neighbors by joining the United States or by confederating with our own empire, may not be of "immediate" but it certainly is of "vital consequence." I hold with Hon. Joseph Howe that it is "the question of questions for us all, *far transcending in importance any other within the range of domestic or foreign politics.*"

* * * * *

The recklessness on this subject is not with the thinkers or agitators, but with those who want us to drift on, like lotus-eaters in a mist, looking out for neither rocks nor harbors until we happen on them. There are some papers and some people who appear to believe in providing against danger on the ostrich's principle, by sticking their heads in a bush and feeling happy. Governor Thomas Pownall was an agitator who *ten years before the American revolution*, urged giving Americans representation in the imperial parliament, they paying a fair contribution to the imperial establishments. Had the advice of this agitator been taken by Britons at home and abroad, our empire might now "dominate the world and dictate peace to the too heavily armed nations."

"If foresight be fussiness, if prudence be fussiness, if wariness be fussiness, then I am a very fussy politician," said Lord Rosebery the other day at Edinburgh. "Absence of fussiness may have every merit, but it does not preserve the empire. If the empire broke up for want of foresight, it might be some consolation to those non-fussy people to say, 'Had we seen this a little earlier, we might have averted it.' It would be no consolation to me. I

suppose Mr. Pitt was called fussy when he said that a reform of parliament was inevitable, and brought in a reform bill in early youth. I suppose Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden were fussy when they said that free trade was coming, and that they would have a hand in bringing it about as soon as possible. I suppose Sir Robert Peel was fussy when he made parliament accept free trade, and so enabled us to ride safely through the revolution of 1848. On the other hand, just think what we have to thank that want of fussiness for—how it has helped us, and what a sublime policy it has been ! It is the want of this fussiness that has led us into many imprudent wars, that has led us into campaigns without any provision for our soldiers. * * * It was want of fussiness that lost us the United States. It is a splendid quality this want of fussiness ; it is a chivalrous quality ; it is a gentlemanly quality. But, for my part, I would rather be fussy with Bright, Cobden and Peel—aye, I would rather be fussy with the geese that saved the Capitol than abide by those splendid doctrines of negation that lead too surely to national disaster.”

In the United States a number of people have lately been “fussing” for the annexation of Canada. Methods for effecting it have been proposed in congress and in many newspapers. It is said that a society has been formed to promote it. Why should not those Canadians who are hostile to this movement take some precautions to defeat it ?

Besides are not our relations with the United States in our present colonial state attended by frequent dangers and humiliations ? Are our powerful neighbors disposed to arrange all matters in dispute between us fairly and permanently ? Is not their aggressiveness sustained largely by the idea, right or wrong, that Great Britain will not declare war for the rights of an unrepresented and uncontributing dependency ? And are not many of our newspapers repeatedly twitting Great Britain with surrenders and back-downs ? And can our neighbors be depended upon to be more fair and reasonable to us until we either join their republic or else become a co-ordinate member of a banded Pan-Britannic empire, every province of which will have contracted to sustain the just rights of every other province ?

Senator Power suggests that the great expense incurred by Canada in building the Canadian Pacific Railroad, which has strengthened the military position of the empire, should exempt her from any contributions to imperial services for some years to come. I think there is much force in this contention. * * * But why need this prevent Canadians from discussing or pronouncing for the principle of imperial federation.

* * * * *

In another place the Senator observes that "when England gives us notice that the present connection cannot last longer in its existing form, or when some convulsion now unexpected takes place, it will be time enough for us to deal with the question of our future place in the world's assembly of nations." If it be right that Canada should assume a reciprocity of obligations with the other members of the empire, it would seem more gracious and more fair that she should spontaneously offer to do so. If it be wrong, she should not do so by persuasion or by compulsion. If she waits for an unexpected "convulsion," she may find she has waited too long. It is during peace that nations should take precautions to avert war.

From *Imperial Federation*, September, 1891.

FEDERATION—SOON OR NEVER.

Mr. F. Blake Crofton, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, signs an article in the *Dominion Illustrated* under the above heading. The warning, though its tone is not loud, strikes a deep note. He says:—In his article, "Canada and Imperial Federation," in the March number of the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr. J. W. Longley advocates Canadian independence. But he is not anxious for an early decision for or against it, although he terms it a "great injustice to the public spirit of the Canadian people to suppose that they will always be content to enjoy the benefits of British connection

without sharing its burdens and responsibilities." He rightly thinks that the chances of gaining and maintaining independence will not be lessened by waiting. "The period has not yet been reached," he remarks, "when Canada shall feel strong enough to stand alone. This involves difficulties and responsibilities. Besides the present generation contains many who are extremely, perhaps bigotedly, attached to Britain and British rule, and who would be unwilling to listen to any proposal involving separation * * But old generations are passing away and new generations are arising; and in proportion as the country develops in population, wealth and power, these ancient prejudices will disappear, and each day will see the spirit of national pride grow stronger. * * The germ has been planted, and the idea is manifestly growing in the heart of young Canada."

Here Mr. Longley indirectly gives a most grave warning to those whose first aspiration is the coherence of our grand empire, and who decline to consider other alternatives while *any* hope of federation remains. To them "*now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation." Goldwin Smith in his "Canada and the Canadian Question" alludes thus scornfully to those imperial federationists who think it too early to reveal their plan:—"They say it is not yet time for the disclosure. Not yet time, when the last strand of political connection is worn almost to the last thread and when every day the sentiment opposed to centralization is implanting itself more deeply in colonial hearts! While we are bidden to wait patiently for the tide, the tide is running strongly the other way." This is the utterance of an opponent of federation and is, I hope, a little pessimistic. But many of the most thoughtful friends of the movement feel the time has come to ask for a verdict for or against the *principle* (if not for or against a specific scheme) of imperial federation. Mr. Stead, in a recent number of the "Review of Reviews," observed that "time was the essence of the contract." Judge Haliburton thought the establishment of lines of steamers ushered in the era "when the treatment of adults should supersede that of children." Hon. Joseph Howe thought the epoch had arrived in 1866. His brochure on "The Organization of the Empire," which was published in that year in

London, contains the following, among its many ringing sentences : —“ If there are any communities of British origin anywhere who desire to enjoy all the privileges and immunities of the Queen's subject without paying for and defending them, let us ascertain who and where they are—let us measure the proportions of political repudiation *now*, in a season of tranquility—when we have leisure to gauge the extent of the evil and to apply correctives, rather than wait till war finds us unprepared and leaning upon presumptions in which there is no reality.” Mr. Blake evidently believes the time for federating the empire has gone by. He made a plea for federation in his Aurora speech in 1874, but has dropped the subject since. And in his late letter he prefaces his opinion that the future of Canada should be settled by deliberation and not by drift with these significant words, “ while not disguising my view that *events have already greatly narrowed our apparent range and impeded our apparent liberty of action.*”

Though not, I trust, already past, the time for attaining full national life in equal partnership with other members of the empire is certainly passing. Canada is becoming more and more the “ be-all and end-all ” for Canadians, as Australia is for Australians.* Some advocates of imperial federation are unwilling to accept it unless it be linked with an imperial zollverein or some favorite fad of their own. Others pretend to favour it only to stave off annexation until Canada is strong enough for independence. If the chief dependencies of the empire are ever to vote that the majestic whole is of more importance even than its nearest and dearest part, and that the coherence of the whole requires a reciprocity of rights and obligations between its co-ordinate parts, the vote must be taken soon.

But for the dangers attending the half century or so that must elapse before the country is sufficiently rich and populous for a secure independence—dangers that imperil the supremacy with Providence seems to offer the Anglo-Saxon race for a beneficent end—the present verdict of Canada would doubtless be for the

*The threatening attitude of the United States and, more lately, of Germany has since decidedly checked this tendency and fanned the flame of imperial patriotism in all the great colonies.

status quo, and its ultimate verdict for independence. To all of us who recognize these dangers it is gratifying to see so much discussion of the future of Canada, so many practical protests against "the inglorious policy of drift." The symptoms are that this country is not going to cling blindly to its mother's skirts until it is shaken off with a rebuff—unless, indeed, the rebuff should come unexpectedly soon. Most thoughtful Canadians—and it now seems likely that the thoughtful minority may move the inert mass—are in sympathy with the stirring appeal of Professor Roberts* :—

"But thou, my country, dream not thou!
Wake, and behold how night is done—
How on thy breast, and o'er thy brow,
Bursts the uprising sun!"

From "Scraps and Snaps" in *The Dominion Illustrated Monthly* for 1892, p. 551.

In his recent plea for freedom in the discussion of our national future, Attorney-General Longley is in error in assuming that "the especial advocates of the imperial federation idea always seek to deprive the subject of the character of a fair debate upon its merits" and appeal only to sentiment. Some imperial federationists, of whom I am a humble one, desire to have the question of our future decided upon its merits alone. If we appeal to sentiment, we appeal to principle and self-interest also. If we believe the federation of the empire to be the grandest, most honourable and most stimulating of our possible destinies, we also believe it to be the most prudent, secure and economical of all the proposed changes in our political status. I hold with Mr. Longley that the fair advocates of annexation should be given a fair hearing. A cause that cannot bear discussion is not worth fighting for:

"He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all."

*This talented Canadian author strongly advocates imperial federation in his recent "History of Canada." Although this work is published in Boston it fearlessly exposes several fables which are taught as truths to our American cousins.

To argue for annexation creates no reasonable presumption that a man, even an official, is a traitor. "Traitor" is derived from *trado*, and means a person who *betrays* or would betray something or somebody. "Treason" comes from the same Latin word, through *trahison*, and implies *treachery*. Because a general recommends making peace on terms which his government decline, are we therefore to jump at the conclusion that he is likely to betray an army or a fortress to the enemy, and are we to brand him as untrustworthy and to clamour for his resignation? Because a man advises a girl to marry for money, are we to assume that, if she objects, he will aid her suitor in abducting her? Though not traitorous, it would however, be spiritless and base to favour annexation to a foreign nation while it maintained a bullying or threatening attitude to the Empire or Canada. It is a characteristic of curs to fawn upon their persecutors and to lick the hands that smite them.

* * * * *

In the same article Mr. Longley says :—"Whether my moral instincts be right or wrong, I propose to be guided solely by my conceptions of the best interests of Canada." Now though a Canadian's *main* consideration should be the interests of Canada, surely he should *not* be guided solely by them. He should be capable of feeling a wider patriotism, and he should not brush aside the obligations of honour or gratitude. Being a citizen of the British Empire, as well as a Canadian, he should not ignore the interests of that empire, and he should have some regard for the welfare of his race and of mankind. But I am glad to perceive that* Mr. Longley's moral instincts are much better than he represents them to be, for he makes his imaginary advocate of annexation show a proper concern for the interests of the motherland and the English-speaking race :—

"In so doing we shall be rendering the greatest service in our

*Mr. Longley's imperial patriotism would seem to have been steadily growing warmer since he first turned his thoughts to the future of Canada. It is an open secret that the spirited editorial in the *Halifax Morning Chronicle* which was promptly evoked by Mr. Cleveland's Venezuelan Message was from Mr. Longley's pen. A large part of this article is approvingly quoted in one of the pamphlets issued by the Imperial Federation Defence Committee.

power to the great nation to which we now belong and to which we are bound by so many ties of honour and affection. To the great English-speaking communities which have sprung from her loins, Great Britain must look for her allies and supporters in her great civilizing mission in the world. The only cause of friction between Britain and her greatest offspring is Canada. The petty disputes about fisheries, seals, canals, railways and bonding privileges are the sole remaining hindrance to an absolutely friendly alliance. Let us then with Britain's consent seek an equal alliance with our separated brothers and make our changed allegiance the occasion of a treaty of perpetual friendship and mutual defence between the two great nations of the English race."

From "Scraps and Snaps," in *The Dominion Illustrated Monthly* for 1892, p. 681.

It was of a knight enamoured of his liege lord's wife that Tennyson wrote,

"His honour rooted in dishonour stood
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true."

But the poet's oxymoron can be applied with equal aptness to thousands of political partisans whose allegiance to their party is stronger than their patriotism; and who are ready to sacrifice their free will and principles rather than "desert" their leader. Some of these gentry glory in their shame. I have heard a rather noisy champion of the "national policy" announce before several witnesses that if Sir Charles should declare for free trade he would promptly follow him; and by the by this "stalwart" has had his reward. The political atmosphere will be much healthier when it is generally felt that the whole is worthy of more consideration than any of its parts; that loyalty to one's country is more admirable than loyalty to one's party, that loyalty to Canada should be paramount to loyalty to any single province, and that loyalty to the British Empire—if we are to remain under its flag and its protection—is more essential than loyalty to any parish or constituency.

From "Glimpses at Things," in *The Week*, Sept. 7, 1894.

THE paper of most interest to Canadians in the twenty-fifth volume of the "Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute," is Sir Charles Tupper's "Canada in relation to the unity of the Empire." It was read before the Institute on the 8th of last May, and, as will be remembered, evoked sharp criticisms, which are fully reported in the volume now before me. As Sir Charles Tupper's views on the subject have been pretty well advertised, I shall devote my space chiefly to presenting the arguments of his critics.

SIR JOHN COLOMB observed in the course of his remarks :—
"There is a true and a false imperialism, and I say it is a false imperialism for our great colonies to refuse to look their obligations in the face. It means peril and disaster in the time of war. The other point I wish to make is this—that if Canada were to join the United States, . . . or to become an independent nation, she would have to pay for defence far more heavily than she does now. Switzerland has a population of under three millions ; Canada has a population of five millions ; Switzerland has a revenue of three and three-quarter millions ; Canada has a revenue of seven and a quarter millions ; on defence Switzerland pays £1,200,000 a year, while Canada pays only £282,000 a year.

I pass the consideration of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I admit that that was a great undertaking, for which Canada deserves every credit. But who is going to defend that line in case Canada is attacked by the United States ("Canadian troops.") What, 5,000,000 people alone against 60,000,000 ? Has the gentleman studied war ? I say that that railway has added to the responsibilities of the Empire for an invading army getting possession of it could dominate Canada from one end to the other

It is not by fine phrases and grand perorations that this empire is to be preserved, but by facing the facts

Two portions of the Empire desire, and rightly desire, to improve their communications, and with that view seek to establish a cable and a mail route. Now, these portions of the Empire—

Canada and Australasia—have an aggregate population equal to that of Scotland, Ireland and Wales all put together. They have a revenue nearly equal to about one-half the total revenue of the United Kingdom, and they have a sea-trade nearly double that of Russia. They come and ask us to find a considerable portion of the money, and base their claim on the ground that the work would contribute to the safety of the Empire in time of war. Now, a cable and a sea-line cannot defend themselves, and I ask, does it show hostility to inquire who is going to pay for the defence? . . . We are asked to subsidise a line of fast mail steamers in order to create a new line. But the reason we subsidise such steamers is in order to take them off their routes when war breaks out—not to keep them on the lines, but to take them off. . . . That being so, away goes the theory that there will be this alternative route in war. . . . I see nothing in the paper to recall to the minds of the loyal people of Canada the fact that they have great imperial duties to perform."

MR. R. R. DOBELL, who generally agreed with the lecturer, observed :—"I am glad Sir John Colomb wishes to strengthen those bonds (between the colonies and Great Britain), because the last occasion I heard him speak I thought there must have been many Sir John Colombs when Great Britain lost the Colonies that now form the United States."

This seems a little hard, considering that Sir John Colomb has always been willing to couple imperial representation with all taxation for imperial purposes. Towards the close of his speech, Mr. Dobell remarked : "Never since the world's history began has there been such an example of a country which has expended blood and treasure to establish and strengthen her colonies and then hand the heirship of them over to the inhabitants. To Canada, Great Britain handed over the fortresses and crown lands and all the money she had expended for 100 years, without asking one penny in return ; and quite recently she handed over to a mere handful the colony of Western Australia—a country which may be valued by millions. I would desire to crush and stamp out sentiments such as those expressed by Sir John Colomb about the colonies

not being prepared to do their utmost for the defence of this great Empire. My own impression is that there is not a man in Canada to-day who would not be prepared to spend his life and fortune to maintain the honour and dignity of this great Empire."

This confident outburst does credit to the heart of Mr. Dobell. Yet Hon. Joseph Howe, who was quite as loyal and nearly as sanguine as Mr. Dobell, agreed with Sir John Colomb that it was true statesmanship for Britain to have a definite contract or compact with her colonies and to cease leaning on presumptions.

AMONG several other eminent men who took part in the discussion at the Royal Colonial Institute was Mr. G. R. Parkin, the apostle of federation, who values the whole Empire more than any part of it, and who has declined a safe nomination for the Imperial Parliament that he may be able to fight more freely and effectively for his great cause. "Now," he asked, "why has the Dominion been able to spend these immense sums in the directions indicated (on internal improvements) instead of giving a larger part of it to military and naval defence? Because, in the good course of Providence, she like other British colonies, was under the protection of the mightiest power that ever held a shield over a people, and which practically said, 'You need not spend your money in preparing to fight; we leave you free to develop your enormous resources.' Incidentally we have been doing our best to build up the Empire. But the time must come when every Canadian must ask, 'How is our flag and our extending commerce protected?' The question I have asked is 'Do you pretend that we are not to take part in the defence of the Empire and pay for the army and navy?' and in almost every large Canadian town I have declared that I would be ashamed of the name Canadian if we were not willing to take the responsibility of our increasing growth."

In his speech closing the debate Sir Charles Tupper* made this

*The record of this gentleman in connection with the federation movement is criticised in a pamphlet entitled "Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., and the Unification of the Empire." (T. C. Allen & Co., Halifax, N. S., 1896. Price 10 cents.) According to the pamphleteer, "it would not seem that Sir Charles remained long in this quasi-repentant mood. In the *Canadian Magazine* for February,

important explanation : " When I referred to the services Canada has rendered to the unity and strength of the Empire by various measures taken since the confederation, I mentioned them *not as a full discharge of the obligations of Canada to the Empire, but as an earnest and as the best possible evidence of what she would be prepared to do in the future.*" I have italicized these words the better to disprove a cruel suspicion that Sir Charles was preparing, for supposed party expediency, to betray the grandest cause he ever espoused.

1896, he has an article extolling the past and present services of Canada to the Empire, with never a hint as to her further obligations in the future. The object of his article appears to be to kill the Imperial Federation Defence Committee—an offspring of the slain Imperial Federation League, of too limited a scope to fire imperial enthusiasm. The motto of those desiring to unify the Empire, in my humble opinion, should be 'thorough'—full citizenship, full obligations, full responsibilities, full representation, full rights, full privileges, and full home rule for every federating partner."

In view of the ungrateful way in which a few organs supporting Sir Charles have lately scouted the idea of Canada's acknowledging any indebtedness (except for favors to come) to the protecting mother-land, I will quote the end of the aforesaid pamphlet :

"Sir Charles Tupper has proclaimed that his coming campaign will be fought (partly) for our Imperial interests. I could serve with more enthusiasm under some leader who had never worked, consciously or unconsciously, against the unification of the Empire—under a Howe (*par excellence*), or a Macdonald, or a Thompson, or a Laurier. But if Sir Charles Tupper has repented in the eleventh hour; if he should appeal more to honour and justice and patriotism than to penurious instincts; if he should advocate for us a square reciprocity of rights and obligations; if his desire should be to enlarge our issues, to broaden our thoughts, and to remove the millstone of provincialism from the bowed neck of our intellectual progress; if he should wish Britons to confederate in the spirit of Howe and Haliburton, for the strengthening of the Empire and the attainment of full imperial citizenship by Canadians; if he should urge Canada to ask for imperial representation *with* a fair imperial contribution, and to claim a coördinate instead of a subordinate status; then, if his propaganda is opposed by the Liberal party, he shall have my voice and vote. And further, if, as I do not anticipate myself,† the insular pride and conserva-

† There is doubtless a large section of the Conservative party in England which would object to the United Kingdom resigning its chieftainship in the Empire by sharing with the colonies the control of the imperial establishments and policy. But if the great colonies asked for full partnership, that section, I believe, would be overpowered. It would be opposed by the more progressive portion of the Conservative party and by practically all the Liberals. It was the supposed indifference of the (till lately unaroused) colonies that caused the apparent reluctance of most Englishmen to pronounce for the unification of the Empire. Mr. Labouchere, who has always pooch-pooched imperial federation, observes (writing as "Scrutator" in *Truth*, November 14th, 1895): "In this country there are many who would strengthen the tie that binds our colonies to us. In the colonies there are none. An Australian, for instance, looks at the matter from an Australian standpoint, and he would be a fool if he did not. As things stand, he has the best of the bargain."

From "Glimpses at Things," in *The Week*, Jan. 4, 1895.

I think it was in 1887, at the time of the Queen's Jubilee, that Senator Sherman was rash enough to prophecy that in ten years Canada would be represented either at Westminster or Washington. It is still possible, however, that the Dominion may express itself before the close of 1897 in favour of representation (with its necessary adjuncts) in Congress or the Imperial Parliament. Senator Gallinger's unconventional, though not impolite, invitation to Canada, may possibly suggest to some British member of Parliament to introduce a somewhat similar resolution, offering full partnership in the Empire to Canada and the other great Colonies. Some such offer is likely to be made if Home Rule should ever be given to Ireland, Scotland, and England. * * The Parliament at Westminster being then a purely Imperial Legislature, and being relieved of most of its present business, would be better prepared to receive colonial representatives. And the autonomous realms of Ireland and Scotland being represented in the Imperial Parliament, and contributing to the Imperial establishments, would bring into bolder relief the fact that other realms of the Empire, equally great and equally autonomous, were not so represented and did not so contribute. Justice, manliness, security and education demand that Canada should soon cease to be a subordinate and become either a co-ordinate or an independent state ; and I should, therefore, like to see her deciding, earnestly but peacefully, between the rival invitations of her mother and her cousins, whether these invitations be formally or informally made, or whether they be expressed or merely understood.

tism of Great Britain should hesitate to give us full representation at Westminster. I will fight in the ranks of Sir Charles against that insular pride and conservatism.

But if Sir Charles is only going to strain our relations with the mother country by trying to dictate a selfish policy which free-trade Britain must refuse, unless she sacrifices her principles to her affection ; if he proposes an unattainable arrangement, to rally his divided followers and win the votes of unreflecting loyalists ; if he asks Canada to apply *in formâ pauperis*, for admission to a mongrel federation ; if he is merely mouthing phrases about the unity of our grand Empire while ready to stab, as heretofore, sincerer patriots who dissent from his stingy and parasitic imperialism ; then all true loyalists should stand by the party whose British policy invites and encourages British trade."

From *Imperial Federation*, October, 1892.

"SAM SLICK" AS A PROPHET.

In an article upon Thomas Chandler Haliburton, that appeared a few months ago in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. F. Blake Crofton (whose name as a writer is not unknown to readers of this Journal) recalled some extremely interesting particulars concerning Haliburton's feelings on the colonial question and his anticipation of a great deal that has to be taught people over again with painful iteration, after the lapse of all but half a century since the publication of "Sam Slick." Mr. Blake Crofton says:—"Haliburton fretted under the cramping influence of belonging to an unrepresented dependency of the British Empire. He has compared the colonies to ponds which rear frogs, but want only outlets and inlets to become lakes and produce fine fish. He observed that the stanzas of Gray's *Elegy* beginning, 'Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid,' might be aptly inscribed over the gate of any colonial cemetery; for to those who rested there, as completely as to the peasants who slept in the church-yard at Stoke Poges, 'their lot forbade' either to 'sway the rod of empire,' or to 'read their history in a nation's eyes.'

"It is a curious coincidence," he continues, "that his ablest depreciator, Professor Felton, of Harvard College, shared Haliburton's views on this subject. In his review of 'The Attache,' in the *North American Review* for January, 1844, Felton attributed what he terms 'the antiquated political absurdities' of the judge to 'the belittling effects of the colonial system on the intellects of colonists.' 'A full and complete national existence,' added the Harvard professor, 'is requisite to the formation of a manly, intellectual character. What great work of literature or art has the colonial mind ever produced? What free, creative action of genius can take place under the withering sense of inferiority that a distant dependency of a great Empire can never escape from? Any consciousness of nationality, however humble the nation may be, is preferable to the second-hand nationality of a colony of the mightiest Empire that ever flourished.

The intense national pride which acts so forcibly in the United States is something vastly better than the intellectual paralysis that deadens the energies of men in the British North American Provinces.'

"To give Canadians full national life, with its wider horizon and more stimulating intellectual environment, Haliburton proposed an imperial federation, in which his country should be a full partner. The words 'Colonies' and 'Dependencies,' he urged, should be disused; all the British possessions should be 'integral parts of one great whole.' He thought the time was already at hand when 'the treatment of adults should supersede that of children' in the case of colonies possessing responsible government. But he was not of those who want to obtain all the privileges of manhood, and to shirk its obligations and responsibilities. He did not clamour for the right to make treaties and have them enforced by the imperial services without offering something in return. He did not desire representation without taxation, as some parasitic colonists do to-day. He wanted to see Britons and colonists 'united as one people, having the same rights and privileges, each bearing a share of the public burdens, and all having a voice in the general government.' Professor Drummond has strikingly described the deterioration of the hermit-crab resulting from its habitually evading the natural responsibility of self-defence. Haliburton evidently feared an analogous fate for a nation permanently evading the same responsibility; and he tried sarcasm as well as argument to rouse his countrymen from their ignoble content. 'Don't use that word "ours" till you are entitled to it,' said the clockmaker. 'Be formal and everlasting' polite. Say "your" empire, "your" army, etc., and never strut under borrowed plumes.'

"But Haliburton advocated imperial federation not only to improve the status of the colonies, but also to strengthen the Empire, which, in its present state, he aptly likened to a barrel without hoops, and to a bundle of sticks, which must either be bound together more securely or else fall apart."

The *Atlantic* article which is quoted above contained also the following paragraph:—"If Haliburton hoped to see the British

Empire federated and made what Professor Hosmer gracefully calls a great world-Venice, through which indeed the seas shall flow,—to unite, however, not to divide,—he anticipated Professor Hosmer's belief that this federation would probably lead to a greater fraternity between the two great English-speaking powers. He did not fear, like Mr. Andrew Carnegie, that imperial federation would arouse an implacable jealousy in the United States, but rather trusted that the increasing grandeur of both powers might enlarge their mutual respect and the pride of each in their common race. Indeed, Haliburton's imagination had conceived the very grandest of all the schemes propounded for the welfare and civilization of mankind,—an Anglo-American union or alliance, "dominating the world and dictating peace to the too heavily armed nations."

"Now we are two great nations," observed Sam Slick in "Wise Saws," "the greatest by a long chalk of any in the world—speak the same language, have the same religion, and our constitutions don't differ no great odds. We ought to draw closer than we do. We are big enough, equal enough, and strong enough not to be jealous of each other. United, we are more nor a match for all the other nations put together, and can defy their fleets, armies and millions. Single, we couldn't stand against all, and if one was to fall, where would the other be? Mournin' over the grave that covers a relative whose place can never be filled. It is authors of silly books, editors of silly papers, and demagogues of silly parties that helps to estrange us. I wish there was a gibbet high enough and strong enough to hang up all these enemies of mankind on."